DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 329 630 UD 027 932

AUTHOR	Madden, Nancy A.; And Others
TITLE	Success for All.
INSTITUTION	Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students, Baltimore, MD.
SPONS AGENCY	Abell Foundation, Baltimore, MD.; Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	Jan 91
CONTRACT	RI-117-R90002
NOTE	22p.; Also sponsored by France and Merrick Foundations.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Compensatory Education; *Early Intervention; *Educational Finance; *High Risk Students; Models; *Prevention; Primary Education; Program Effectiveness; *Reading Achievement; Reading Difficulties; Urban Schools
IDENTIFIERS	Baltimore City Public Schools MD; Success for All Program MD

ABSTRACT

"Success for All" is a compensatory education program based on prevention and early intervention that has proven successful in significantly increasing the reading performance of disadvantaged and at-risk primary grade students, as well as reducing retentions and special education placements. The program directs all aspects of school and classroom organization toward preventing academic deficits from appearing, recognizes and intensively intervenes when any deficits do appear, and provides a rich and full curriculum. The following program elements are described: (1) reading tutors; (2) regrouping for reading instruction; (3) 8-week student progress assessments; (4) preschool and kindergarten; (5) family support teams; (6) program facilitators; (7) teachers and teacher training; (8) special education; and (9) advisory committees. The program has been implemented and evaluated in six urban schools and one rural school. Participants far outperformed matched control students on individually administered reading tests. Evaluation findings also emphasize the importance of beginning the program no later than the first grade and the role of financial resources. Statistical data are presented in two tables. A list of 18 references is appended. (FMW)

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Success for All

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Nancy A. Madden

Robert E. Slavin

Nancy L. Karweit

Lawrence Dolan

Barbara A. Wasik

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The Johns Hopkins University

January, 1991

This research was supported by grants from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education (No. OERI-R-117-R90002), the Abell Foundation, and the France and Merrick Foundations. However, any opinions expressed are our own, and do not represent OERI positions or policies.

We would like to thank the following individuals for their assistance in this research: Matthew Riley, James Sarnecki, Leonard Wheeler, Carla Ford, Nancy Gimbel, Norman Walsh, Denise Borders, Lawrence Howe, Craig Spilman, Cornelius Johnson, Maudestine Godsey, Ardena Dixon, Alexander Gates, Alma Brown, Anna Coplin, Phoebe Shorter, and Mary Donnelly of the Baltimore City Public Schools, Renee Yampolsky, Lionel Lauer, James Ayers, and Vicky Celotto of the Philadelphia Public Schools, Glen Hammerbacher, Stuart Scott, and Rodney Abbott of the Worcester Co. (MD) Public Schools, and Alta Shaw, Lynne Mainzer, Robert Petza, Barbara Haxby, Mary Leighton, and Scott Durkin of Johns Hopkins University.

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Every September, three million six-year-olds enter our nation's first grades. Every one of them is absolutely confident that he or she is going to do well in school. Every one of them is smart and knows it. Every one is highly motivated, eager to learn.

Just nine months later, many of these bright, enthusiastic first graders have learned a hard lesson. Many have failed first grade; in some urban districts, as many as 20% of first graders are retained each year. Others barely squeak by, but are beginning to see that they are not making it. In particular, some students know that they are not reading as well as their classmates. As they proceed through the elementary grades, many students begin to see that they are failing at their full-time jobs. When this happens, things begin to unravel. Failing students begin to have poor motivation and poor self- expectations, which lead to continued poor achievement, in a declining spiral that ultimately leads to despair, delinquency, and dropout.

Remediating learning deficits after they are already well established is extremely difficult. Children who have already failed to learn to read, for example, are now anxious about reading, interfering with their ability to focus on it. Their motivation to read may be low. Clearly, the time to provide additional help to children who are at risk is early, when children are still motivated and confident and when any learning deficits are relatively small and remediable. The most important goal in educational programming for students at risk of school failure is to try to make certain that we do not squander the greatest resource we have: the enthusiasm and positive self-expectations of young children themselves.

In practical terms, what this perspective implies is that Chapter 1, special education, and other services for at-risk children must be shifted from an emphasis on remediation to an emphasis on prevention and early intervention. Prevention means providing developmentally appropriate preschool and kindergarten programs so that students will enter first grade ready to succeed, and it means providing regular classroom teachers with effective instructional programs, curricula, and staff development to enable them to see that most students are successful the first time they are taught. Early intervention means that supplementary instructional services are provided early in

Table 1 also presents the levels of resources added to each school to implement Success for All. The two high-resource schools received funding of approximately $400,000 to hire additional tutors, family support staff, a full-time project facilitator, and enough teachers and aides to provide preschool experiences for all children. Moderate-resource schools received $100,000-$150,000, and low-resource schools, $40,000 (to pay for materials and a half-time facilitator). Of course, these three levels of resources are only relative within the context of the districts involved; the money added to the highest-resource Baltimore schools still does not bring these schools to the average per-pupil expenditure of the State of Maryland.

The main elements of Success for All are described in the following section (adapted from Slavin et al., 1990).

Success for All Program Elements

Reading Tutors

One of the most important elements of the Success for All model is the use of tutors to promote students' success in reading. One-to-one tutoring is the most effective form of instruction known (see Slavin, Karweit, & Madden, 1989; Wasik & Slavin, 1990). The tutors are certified teachers with experience teaching Chapter 1, special education, and/or primary reading. Tutors work one-on-one with students who are having difficulties keeping up with their reading groups. The tutoring occurs in 20-minute sessions taken from an hour-long social studies period. In general, tutors support students' success in the regular reading curriculum, rather than teaching different objectives. For example, if the regular reading teacher is working on a story emphasizing long vowel words, so does the tutor. However, tutors seek to identify learning problems and use different strategies to teach the same skills and teach metacognitive skills beyond those taught in the classroom program (Wasik & Madden, 1989). High-resource schools have six or more tutors, moderate-resource 3-5, and low-resource 2-3, depending on school size, need for tutoring, and other factors.

students' schooling and that they are intensive enough to bring at-risk students quickly to a level at which they can profit from good quality classroom instruction.

Elsewhere in this issue, Slavin (1991) describes a vision of what Chapter 1 could become. In the present article, we describe the nature and outcomes of a program designed around this vision, a Chapter 1 program which emphasizes prevention and early, intensive intervention to see that all children in schools serving disadvantaged students are successful in basic skills the first time they are taught, and that they can build on that success throughout the elementary years.

The name of this program is Success for All. The idea behind Success for All is to use everything we know about effective instruction for students at risk to direct all aspects of school and classroom organization toward the goal of preventing academic deficits from appearing in the first place; recognizing and intensively intervening with any deficits that do appear; and providing students with a rich and full curriculum to enable them to build on their firm foundation in basic skills. The commitment of Success for All is to do whatever it takes to see that every child makes it through third grade at or near grade level in reading and other basic skills, and then goes beyond this in the later grades.

Success for All has been implemented and evaluated in a total of seven schools in three districts. These are all among the most disadvantaged and lowest-achieving schools in their respective districts; all but one (in rural Berlin, Marland) qualified as Chapter 1 schoolwide projects, which means that at least 75% of students receive free lunch. Five of the schools are located in Baltimore and serve student bodies that are almost 100% African American. The one Philadelphia school has a majority of Cambodian students, who arrive in kindergarten with little or no English. The one rural school, on Maryland's Eastern Shore, is evenly split between African American and white students. The characteristics of the schools are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 Here

During daily 90-minute reading periods, tutors serve as additional reading teachers to reduce class size for reading to about 15 in high-resource schools and about 20 in moderate- and low-resource schools (because they have fewer tutors to reduce class size). Reading teachers and tutors use brief forms to communicate about students' specific problems and needs and meet at regular times to coordinate their approaches with individual children.

Initial decisions about reading group placement and the need for tutoring are based on informal reading inventories that the tutors give to each child. Subsequent reading group placements and tutoring assignments are made based on curriculum-based assessments given every eight weeks, which include teacher judgments as well as more formal assessments. First graders receive priority for tutoring, on the assumption that the primary function of the tutors is to help all students be successful in reading the first time, before they fail and become remedial readers.

Reading Program

Students in grades 1-3 are regrouped for reading. The students are assigned to heterogeneous, age-grouped classes with class sizes of about 25 most of the day, but during a regular 90-minute reading period they are regrouped by reading performance levels into reading classes of 15-20 students all at the same level. For example, a 2-1 reading class might contain first, second, and third grade students all reading at the same level.

Regrouping allows teachers to teach the whole reading class without having to break the class into reading groups. This greatly reduces the time spent in seatwork and increases direct instruction time, eliminating workbooks, dittos, or other follow-up activities which are needed in classes that have multiple reading groups. The regrouping is a form of the Joplin Plan, which has been found to increase reading achievement in the elementary grades (Slavin, 1987a).

Reading teachers at every grade level begin the reading time by reading children's literature to students and engaging them in a discussion of the story to enhance their understanding of the story, listening and speaking vocabulary, and knowledge of story structure. In kindergarten and first grade, the program emphasizes development of basic language skills with the use of Story

Telling and Retelling (STaR), which involves the students in listening to, retelling, and dramatizing children's literature (Karweit, 1988). Big books as well as oral and written composing activities allow students to develop concepts of print as they also develop knowledge of story structure. Peabody Language Development Kits are used to further develop receptive and expressive language.

Beginning Reading is introduced in the second semester of kindergarten. In this program, letters and sounds are introduced in an active, engaging series of activities that begins with oral language and moves into written symbols. Once letter sounds are taught, they are reinforced by the reading of stories which use the sounds. The K-1 reading program uses a series of phonetically regular but meaningful and interesting minibooks and emphasizes repeated oral reading to partners as well as to the teacher, instruction in story structure and specific comprehension skills, and integration of reading and writing.

When students reach the primer reading level, they use a form of Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) (Stevens, Madden, Slavin, & Farnish, 1987) with the district's basal series. CIRC uses cooperative learning activities built around story structure, prediction, summarization, vocabulary building, decoding practice, and story-related writing. Students engage in partner reading and structured discussion of the basal stories, and work toward mastery of the vocabulary and content of the story in teams. Story-related writing is also shared within teams.

In addition to these basal story-related activities, teachers provide direct instruction in reading comprehension skills, and students practice these skills in their teams. Classroom libraries of trade books at students' reading levels are provided for each teacher, and students read books of their choice for homework for 20 minutes each night. Home readings are shared via presentations, summaries, puppet shows, and other formats twice a week during "book club" sessions. Research on CIRC has found it to significantly increase students' reading comprehension and language skills (Stevens et al., 1987).

Beginning in the second-year of program implementation, Success for All schools usually implement programs in writing/ language arts and mathematics based primarily on cooperative learning principles (see Slavin, Madden, & Stevens, 1989/90, for a description of these methods).

Eight-Week Reading Assessments

At eight week intervals, reading teachers assess student progress through the reading program. The results of the assessments are used to determine who is to receive tutoring, to change students' reading groups, to suggest other adaptations in students' programs, and to identify students who need other types of assistance, such as family interventions or screening for vision and hearing problems.

Preschool and Kindergarten

Many of the Success for All schools provide a half-day preschool and/or a full-day kindergarten for eligible students. The preschool and kindergarten programs focus on providing a balanced and developmentally appropriate learning experience for young children. The curriculum emphasizes the development and use of language. It provides a balance of academic readiness and non-academic music, art, and movement activities in a series of thematic units. Readiness activities include use of the Peabody Language Development Kits and Story Telling and Retelling (STaR) in which students retell stories read by the teachers (Karweit & Coleman, 1991). Pre-reading activities begin during the second semester of kindergarten.

Family Support Team

One of the basic tenets of the Success for All philosophy is that parents are an essential part of the formula for success. A family support team works in each school, serving to make families feel comfortable in the school as well as providing specific services. In the high-resource schools, social workers, attendance monitors, and other staff are added to the school's usual staff. In moderate- and low-resource schools, the family support team consists of the Chapter 1 parent

liaison, vice-principal (if any), counselor (if any), facilitator, and any other appropriate staff already present in the school. The family support team works to involve parents in support of their children's success in school. It contacts parents whose children are frequently absent to see what resources can be provided to assist the family in getting their child to school. Parenting education is provided for interested families . Family support staff, teachers and parents work together to solve school behavior problems. Also, family support staff are called on to provide assistance when students seem to be working at less than their full potential because of problems at home. Families of students who are not receiving adequate sleep or nutrition, need glasses, are not attending school regularly, or are exhibiting serious behavior problems, receive family support assistance. The family support team is strongly integrated into the academic program of the school. It receives referrals from teachers and tutors regarding children who are not making adequate academic progress, and thereby constitutes an additional stage of intervention for students in need above and beyond that provided by the classroom teacher or tutor. The family support team also encourages and trains the parents to fulfill numerous volunteer roles within the school, ranging from providing a listening ear to emerging readers to helping in the school cafeteria.

Program Facilitator

A program facilitator works at each school to oversee (with the principal) the operation of the Success for All model. High-resource schools have a full-time facilitator while moderate- and low-resource schools have half-time facilitators. The facilitator helps plan the Success for All program, helps the principal with scheduling, and visits classes and tutoring sessions frequently to help teachers and tutors with individual problems. He or she works directly with the teachers on implementation of the curriculum, classroom management, and other issues, helps teachers and tutors deal with any behavior problems or other special problems, and coordinates the activities of the family support team with those of the instructional staff.

Evaluation

Each of the seven Success for All schools was matched with a comparison school that was similar in the percent of students receiving free lunch, historical achievement level, and other factors. Within each matched school, students were individually matched on the earliest standardized test scores available.

At the high-resource and moderate-resource schools and their comparison schools, all students in grades 1-3 were given individually administered tests. In three Baltimore low-resource schools and their comparison schools, one-third of all students were randomly selected to be tested. The tests were Durrell Oral and Silent Reading Tests (Durrell & Catterson, 1980), and the Woodcock Letter-Word Identification and Word Attack scales (Woodcock, 1984).

Reading performance outcomes are summarized in . The Table presents mean grade equivalents for students who have been in Success for All and control schools since beginning formal reading instruction in first grade. Only in the original pilot school, Abbottston Elementary, have students been in the program for three years, so third grade data are presented only for this school. Six of the seven schools have been in the program at least two years. "Effect sizes" in the right-hand column represent the proportion of a standard deviation separating Success for All and control students. In essence, the effect sizes represent a meta-analysis of findings from seven separate experimental-control comparisons for each of the seven Success for All schools (for details of the procedures and findings for all seven schools, see Madden et al., 1991).

Figure 2 Here

Figure 2 shows that on average, Success for All students are far outperforming matched control students on individually administered tests of reading. The overall effect sizes of +.55 in first grade, +.54 in second, and +.46 in third grade are all substantial. In grade-equivalent terms, the experimental-control difference rises from three months in first grade to five months in second

Teachers and Teacher Training

The teachers and tutors are regular certified teachers. They receive detailed teacher's manuals supplemented by two days of inservice at the beginning of the school year. For teachers of grades 1-3 and for reading tutors, these training sessions focus on implementation of the reading program, and their detailed teachers' manuals cover general teaching strategies as well as specific lessons. Preschool and kindergarten teachers and aides are trained in use of the STaR and Peabody programs, thematic units, and other aspects of the preschool and kindergarten models. Tutors later receive an additional day of training on tutoring strategies and reading assessment.

Throughout the year, additional inservice presentations are made by the facilitators and other project staff on such topics as classroom management, instructional pace, and cooperative learning. Facilitators also organize many informal sessions to allow teachers to share problems and problem solutions, suggest changes, and discuss individual children. The staff development model used in Success for All emphasizes relatively brief initial training with extensive classroom followup, coaching, and group discussion.

Special Education

Every effort is made to deal with students' learning problems within the context of the regular classroom, as supplemented by tutors. Tutors evaluate students' strengths and weaknesses and develop strategies to teach in the most effective way. In some schools, special education teachers work as tutors and reading teachers with students identified as learning disabled as well as other students experiencing learning problems.

Advisory Committee

An advisory committee composed of the building principal, program facilitator, teacher representatives, and family support staff meets regularly to review the progress of the program and to identify and solve any problems that arise.

and eight months in third grade.[1] As a point of contrast, the effects of reducing class size from 25 to 15 for four years (grades k-3) were found in a Tennessee study to average about +.25 (Word et al., 1990), and other studies of this level of class size reduction have found even smaller effects. More important, however, is the effect on the lowest-achieving quarter of each class, as determined by pretest scores. This effect size rises from +.64 in first grade (two months) to +.94 in second (six months) to +1.13 in third (1.2 years). Abbottston low achievers, who have been in the program since first grade, average near grade level at the end of third grade (G.E.=3.5). Matched control students scored far behind (G.E.=2.3). Not a single Abbottston student scored two years below grade level, a typical criterion for identification of a student as learning disabled. Ten percent of control students scored this low (see Slavin et al., in press). At the Philadelphia school serving many Cambodian students with limited English proficiency, very positive effects for these students were also found (see Slavin & Yampolsky, 1991).

The Importance of Early Intervention

The findings of the Success for All evaluations indicate that focusing on prevention and early intervention can significantly increase the reading performance of disadvantaged and at-risk students, as well as reducing retentions and special education placements. In particular, the program substantially increases the achievement of those students who are most at-risk. Not every Success for All third grader who has been in the program since first grade is reading at grade level, but virtually every one is reading close enough to grade level to profit from good classroom instruction without a continuing need for remedial or special education.

One interesting finding in research on Success for All is that the program's effects are much less for students who begin in it past the first grade than for those who begin in preschool, kindergarten, or first grade. Success for All always begins in grades k-3 or pre-k to 3. A typical

[1] The fact that effect sizes did not rise over the three year period does not indicate a static effect; effect sizes only remain stable because standard deviations rise each year.

pattern is for program effects to be large in first grade the first year, in first and second grades the second year, and in first, second, and third grades the third year of implementation (see Madden et al., 1991). This finding points up the importance of prevention and early intervention. A second or third grader who is already far behind in basic skills may not profit as much from improvements in regular classroom instruction or even from remedial tutoring. In contrast, students who end first grade with a solid foundation of success in reading can profit from enhanced classroom instruction and continue to build on this foundation. What this implies is that both early intervention and improvement in classroom practice are needed. Early intervention alone is not enough. For example, Reading Recovery (Pinnell, 1989) provides one-to-one tutoring to first graders but does not change regular classroom instruction. Longitudinal studies of this approach have found that gains made in first grade are maintained but do not grow over time. At the same time, improvement in classroom practice may not be enough in itself for students who are already experiencing difficulties, as we are finding in our Success for All research. What is needed is a strategy of preventing learning problems from appearing in the first place and then improving classroom instruction throughout the grades to fan the flame of learning ignited in preschool, kindergarten, and first grade.

Does Money Matter?

In general, the average achievement at high-resource school is greater than that at low-resource schools, but not dramatically so until the effects for the bottom 25% of students are examined. For these students, reading achievement is substantially higher in the high-resource schools. In addition, the high-resource schools were able to reduce retentions to near zero, and to significantly reduce special education placements. The additional resources contributed mostly to ensuring success for every child. They were used to pay for additional family support resources and tutors, which made a large difference with a small number of children. That is, it appears to be possible to significantly increase average achievement levels with modest additional

investments, but to do what is necessary to see that every child is successful is expensive, at least in the short run. On the other hand, reducing retentions and special education referrals and placements creates major savings in the long run, so even in the most cold-blooded economic calculation the high-resource approach may be cost-effective (see Madden et al., 1991). Simply reducing retention from 11% to zero at Abbottston saves approximately $240,000 per year, more than half the program cost. Also, it is important to note again that the costs of the two high-resource schools in Baltimore amount to less than $800 per student, less than the difference in per-pupil costs between Baltimore and the rest of Maryland.

The importance of additional resources used in a coordinated fashion to provide whatever is necessary for each child is illustrated by the case of Tavon (not his real name). Tavon, a student at City Springs, lives in a Baltimore housing project. He had completed kindergarten the year before Success for All began at City Springs. According to his teachers' reports, Tavon was already headed for serious trouble. He was angry and aggressive, dealing with both teachers and other students as if they were out to get him. Tavon had to be removed from class frequently because of his disruptive behavior. He had little energy to put into learning when he was in school, and he was not in school very consistently. Even when he did come to school, he usually arrived late, closer to 10:30 rather than 8:30.

Tavon was born when his mother was a young teenager. His mother felt helpless. She wanted her son to be successful but had few resources to help him, being hardly more than a child herself. Her son's response to the school was just like his mother's. The only way she knew how to react to her son's problems in school was to become angry and aggressive. In the first weeks of first grade, when the school contacted her about problems that Tavon was having, her response was to stomp into school cursing, threatening to take him out of this school since it couldn't deal with him.

Coordinated efforts by teachers, the facilitator, family support team members, and the family have worked to turn things around for Tavon. After the social worker made the mother feel welcome, she was able to encourage her to participate in parenting classes held at City Springs.

She became more confident in her ability to handle her son. With concrete assistance from the attendance monitor, attendance started to improve. At first, the school called her early every morning to get her started early enough to get her son to school. For a while, the attendance monitor met the mother halfway to school. Everyone made a concerted effort to make Tavon's mother feel welcome at the school, helping her to feel better about herself. Even as his behavior improved, Tavon still had very serious academic problems; on all tests given at the beginning of first grade, he showed no evidence of having any pre-reading skills. Tavon was given an instructional program in which he could be successful and was given one-to-one tutoring, which not only provided the academic support that he needed but also gave him emotional support. His tutor was a special person with whom he could share his struggles and successes.

The story is a successful one. As Tavon's mother began to work cooperatively with the school, Tavon's attitude toward school improved. He still has a strong temper, but he is learning how to deal with angry feelings in a constructive way. Tavon is in school on time every day. Learning still does not come easily for him, but he knows that if he works hard, he can learn, and he is proud of the steady progress he is making. His mother has developed a good deal of self-confidence as well and is now employed in a store in the neighborhood.

Tavon's experience, which is like that of many students in Success for All, shows the importance of resources applied to students' individual needs. The number of person-hours invested in children like Tavon is staggering, yet that is what is required to insure that every child will succeed. These children can not be guaranteed success unless the additional money necessary to add social workers, attendance monitors, and tutors is available in their schools.

Conclusions

The Success for All evaluations took place in some of the most disadvantaged schools in the country, including the very highest-poverty schools in Baltimore and Philadelphia. These schools suffer from all the problems of inner-city schools, from under-funding to low staff morale in many cases to bureaucratic problems of large urban systems to unsafe neighborhoods to limited

ability on the part of many parents (often due to involvement with drugs) to support their children's success in school. Yet these schools have many resources which have traditionally been underutilized: many dedicated teachers and administrators who care deeply about children, many parents who are able to support the school if they are invited to do so, and most of all, young children who have not yet experienced anything that would contradict their very positive self-images as learners. What Success for All shows is that even in the most disadvantaged of schools with all of the urban problems so often associated with these schools, the staff, parental, and student strengths that have always been there can be activated to significantly enhance the educational outcomes for children. In less depressed environments, the impacts can be even easier to produce; after one year, Buckingham Elementary School in rural Berlin, Maryland not only brought its lowest-achieving first graders to grade level, but also reduced special education placements from 12 per year to only three (Slavin, Madden, & Dolan, 1990).

Success for All provides one practical demonstration of what Chapter 1 could and should become. Slavin (1991) has argued that Chapter 1 should be focused on guaranteeing literacy for all students, on staff development to enable regular classroom teachers to use effective strategies with disadvantaged and at-risk children, and on assessment and accountability to help focus the school's attention on the progress of its most vulnerable learners. The results of the Success for All evaluations show that a schoolwide focus on prevention and early intervention, improvement of classroom practice, and constant, curriculum-based assessment of students and of the program itself can have major payoffs for children. We would not suggest that the particular constellation of elements implemented in Success for All is ideal or optimal. In fact, the program itself varies in important ways from site to site depending on the nature, needs, and resources of each. What is common to all Success for All sites and must become common to Chapter 1 schools as a whole is a relentless focus on the success of all children, a commitment to see that learning problems are prevented as much as possible, and are recognized and intensively remediated early on if they do appear. The first line of defense is preschool, kindergarten, and improved classroom practice. If this is not enough, tutoring or family support services are brought in, or changes are made in

classroom instruction to meet individual needs. If these are not enough, school staff experiment with other solutions. The commitment is never to give up until a child is succeeding.

Every September, three million confident, eager, and motivated six-year olds enter our nation's first grades. The essential goal of Chapter 1 and other compensatory education programs should be to see that every one of these children leaves the primary grades as confident, as eager, and as motivated as they came in, with the skills they need to make it in the later grades and a well-founded expectation that the rest of their schooling will be as rich and as successful as that which they have experienced so far. Success for All provides one model of a program designed to meet this goal.

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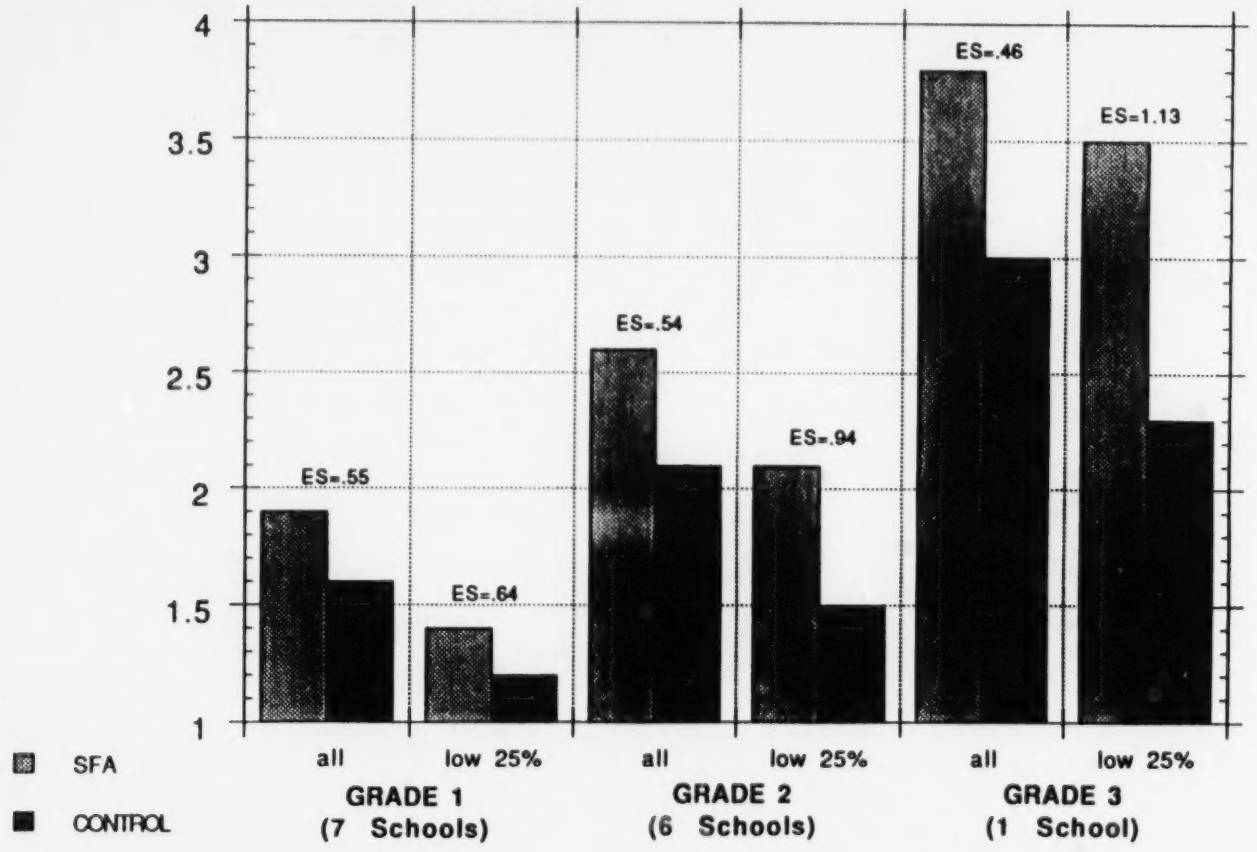
Table 1

Characteristics of Success For All Schools

School	Location	Enrollment	Ethnicity	Percent Free Lunch	Years In Program	Resource Level	Number of Tutors	Preschool?	Full-Day Kindergarten?	Add'l Family Support Staff	Full/Half-Time Facilitator
Abbottston Elementary	Baltimore	550	97% Black	83%	3	High	6	Yes	Yes	2	Full
City Springs Elementary	Baltimore	500	99% Black	97%	2	High	9	Yes	No	2 1/2	Full
Dallas Nicholas Elementary	Baltimore	439	99% Black	98%	2	Low	2	Yes	No	0	Half
Dr. Bernard Harris Elementary	Baltimore	634	100% Black	94%	2	Low	3	Yes	No	0	Half
Harriet Tubman Elementary	Baltimore	475	100% Black	94%	2	Low	3	Yes	Yes	0	Half
Francis Scott Key Elementary	Philadelphia	622	55% Asian 21% White 21% Black	96%	2	Moderate	4	No	Some	0	Full
Buckingham Elementary	Berlin, Maryland	530	50% Black 50% White	40%	1	Moderate	3	Yes	No	0	Half

FIGURE 1
Mean Effects of Success For All (SFA) on Reading Achievement



Note: Data are from Madden et al., 1991, including students in Success for All or control schools since first grade.